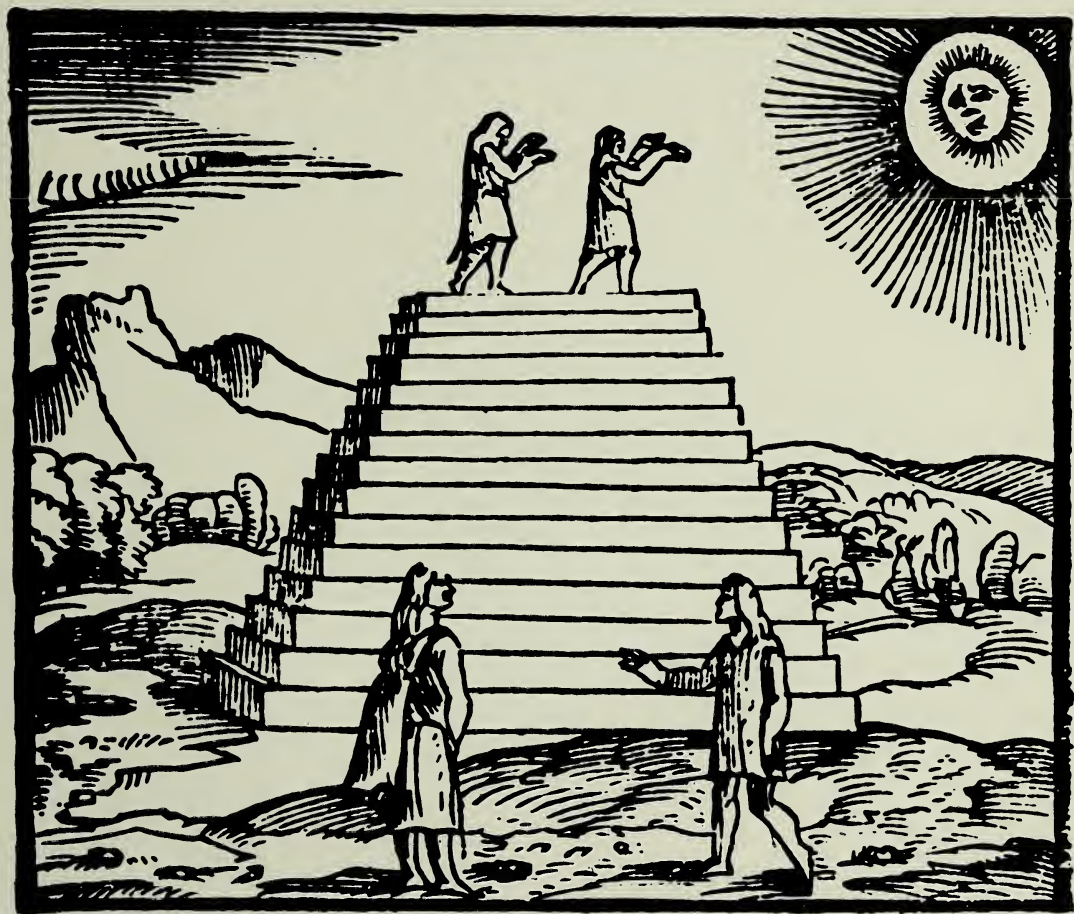


Come gl'Indiani del Perù adorano il Sole, & lo tengono per lo suo principal Iddio.



QVESTE genti ancor che parlano col demonio, tengono per loro principale Iddio il Sole, & quando vogliono dimandarli qualche gratia, così i signori, come i sacerdoti, vanno la mattina quando sale, sopra vn'alto di pietra fatto à posta, tenendo sempre il capo à basso, sbattendo l'vna mã con l'altra, & fregandole poi alzatole, à modo come voleßero toccarlo, facendo certe lor orationi.  
gli

THE FRONT COVER REPRODUCES LEAF 168R OF BENZONI'S  
HISTORIA DEL MONDO NUOVO (1572)  
AND ILLUSTRATES HOW THE INDIANS OF PERU WORSHIPED THE SUN.

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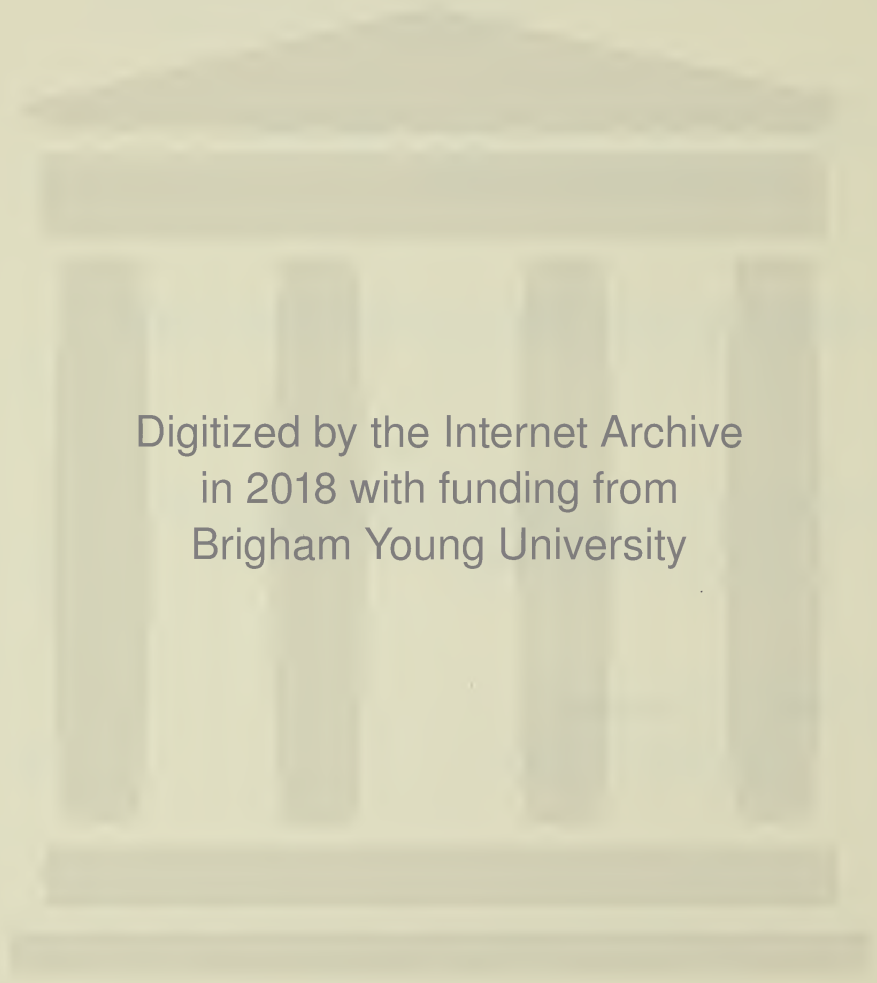
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Edited by  
A. Dean Larsen  
Associate University Librarian

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NEWSLETTER  
Number 38, 1991

# CONTENTS

Bronson Alcott's School Report 1860–1861 by MADELEINE B. STERN	1
Girolamo Benzoni's <i>Historia del Mondo Nuovo</i> (1572) by MADISON U. SOWELL	13
The Huguenot Booktrade in London 1685–1700 by LEONA ROSTENBERG	27
<i>El Título de Totonicapán</i> by MARK L. GROVER	51



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# Bronson Alcott's School Report

## 1860–1861

MADELEINE B. STERN

Interesting addenda to the Harold B. Lee Library's Louisa May Alcott Collection are her father's school reports. Bronson Alcott's innovative pedagogical methods, sometimes scorned and questioned in his day, have infiltrated the theory and practice of modern education.<sup>1</sup> Today, educators endorse such advanced aims and techniques as self-analysis and self-unfoldment, free-ranging conversation and discussion, and the investigation of what was once considered "dubious" subject matter. That Alcott's peculiar pedagogy should be reflected in the reports he wrote as superintendent of Concord, Massachusetts, schools during the early 1860s is not remarkable. A close study of his report for the year 1860–1861, however, reveals far more than instructional methods in advance of their time.<sup>2</sup> It also illumines the transcendental Concord in which his pedagogy flourished, and it reflects much of the educational climate he provided for his own children, especially his gifted daughter Louisa May. What is more, the supplement to Bronson Alcott's school report of 1861 actually makes reference to that daughter, since she provided the highly controversial words to a song for the school exhibition held in March.

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Madeleine B. Stern is a partner in the rare book firm of Leona Rostenberg & Madeleine Stern—Rare Books, New York City. She has written extensively on nineteenth-century American publishing and bookselling history, as well as on feminism. She has also edited or coedited numerous books, many concerned with Louisa May Alcott. She has for many years been a loyal Friend of the Brigham Young University Library and in 1991 delivered the third annual Alice Louise Reynolds Lecture, "Louisa May Alcott at BYU."



REPORTS  
OF THE  
SELECTMEN AND OTHER OFFICERS  
OF THE  
TOWN OF CONCORD,  
FROM MARCH 5, 1860, TO MARCH 4, 1861.  
INCLUDING  
The Marriages, Births and Deaths in Town in 1860.  
ALSO,  
THE REPORT OF THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE  
FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 1, 1861.

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CONCORD:  
PRINTED BY BENJAMIN TOLMAN.  
1861.



Bronson Alcott's school report, written just before the onset of the Civil War, is therefore *multum in parvo*: it mirrors not only the schools he supervised but the home in which Louisa Alcott was reared and the place—Concord, Massachusetts—during its flowering. This prosaic-looking pamphlet with light-buff printed wrappers contains many treasures, not the least of which is the association of two illustrious names: A. Bronson Alcott, superintendent of schools, and Miss Alcott, whose song enlivened a memorable occasion.

Many aspects of the education of the Alcott children can be detected in Bronson's lengthy school report. Indeed, one section is headed "Home Influences," and there Alcott states: "The school is an index to the family, the key to home influences. . . . It is the world in little."<sup>3</sup> Reading the superintendent's report, we walk into the "world in little" that was the Alcott home. Bronson remarks: "Every child feels early the desire for communicating his emotions and thoughts, first by conversation and next by writing. Letters and diaries are his first confidants: the records of life and the stuff of its living literature."<sup>4</sup> Louisa Alcott's diaries—the source for much of her literary creation—were kept because of her father's pedagogical concepts.

Also, when Bronson writes about "A School Newspaper" we recall the *Olive Leaf*, the *Pickwick Portfolio*, the *Portfolio*, those papers that emerged from the Alcott home during the early 1850s. Recommending for his school children "walks to the woods and through the fields,"<sup>5</sup> surely Alcott was mindful of those woodland adventures that enriched his daughters' childhood. Aiming at a "Study of the Mind,"<sup>6</sup> he must have remembered his own intense study of the different minds of his own children. The conversational method he pursued with them is exalted in his report as "the mind's mouth-piece."<sup>7</sup> Especially in his recommended readings we are made to recall the books treasured by the child Louisa: Krummacher's *Parables* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which "never tires; . . . cannot be read too frequently; . . . is never finished."<sup>8</sup> With enormous perception, Alcott writes that "stories are the idyls of childhood. They cast about it the romance it loves and lives in."<sup>9</sup> By the time he made that observation, his daughter

## SCHOOL BOOKS.

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The following is the list of Books sanctioned by the Committee :

*For the Teachers' Use.*

Picture Testament.  
Pilgrim's Progress.  
Krummacher's Parables.  
Constitution of the United States.  
Declaration of Independence.  
Constitution of Massachusetts.

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*Primary, Intermediate and other Schools.*

Philbrick's Tablets.  
Mrs. Barbauld's Lessons and Hymns.  
Miss Edgeworth's Easy Lessons.  
Tower's Gradual Primer.  
“ Introduction to Gradual Reader.  
“ Gradual Reader.  
Hillard's Second Class Reader.  
Town's Progressive Speller.  
Emerson's Primary Arithmetic.  
Colburn's First Lessons.  
Greenleaf's Common School Arithmetic.  
Tower's Algebra.  
Parley's History.  
Weld's Grammar.  
Fowler's Manual of Conversation.  
Fowler's Book of Synonyms.  
Payson and Dunton's Writing Books.

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*High School.*

CLASSICAL AND FRENCH BOOKS.

Andrews' Latin Series.  
Arnold's Latin and Greek Series.

Moore's Virgil.  
 Johnson's Cicero.  
 Sophocles' Greek Grammar.  
 Xenophon's Anabasis.  
 Homer's Iliad.  
 Fasquelle's French Grammar.  
 Fasquelle's Reader.  
 Chouquet's French Lessons.  
 Nouvelles Genevoises.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Shakspeare, Milton and Thompson.  
 Gleanings from the Poets.  
 Plutarch's Lives.  
 Sargent's Fifth Reader.  
 Green's Grammar.  
 Greenleaf's National Arithmetic.  
 Day's or Sherwin's Algebra.  
 Davies' Legendre's Geometry.  
 Hill's First Lessons in Geometry.  
 Olmstead's Astronomy.  
 Tate's Natural Philosophy.  
 Stöckhardt's Chemistry.  
 Cornell's Geographies.  
 Fitch's Physical Geography.  
 Tenney's Geology.  
 Jarvis' Physiology.  
 Gray's Elementary Botany.  
 Hanaford and Payson's Book-keeping.  
 Worcester's Comprehensive Dictionary.  
 Quackenboss' U. S. History.  
 Miss Peabody's Universal History.

I should like to add to this list, Webster's Dictionary, and The Book of Agriculture which is being prepared by the State. Also *Rei Rusticæ*, recommended by Milton, and Evelyn's Gardener and Acetaria.

The Books authorised in the High School may be used in the other schools of the town.

Pursuant to law a sufficient supply of the above books has been procured, and the same can be obtained at A. Stacy's Bookstore, at cost.

Louisa had already added to the literature of childhood with her first book, *Flower Fables* (1855).<sup>10</sup>

Not only is the childhood education of the young Alcotts detectable in this school report, but the town that formed their background can be glimpsed as well. As Alcott writes, "It is good to foster that pride of place which has borne the fruits of good and brave deeds."<sup>11</sup> His illustrious contemporaries become characters in his school report. Here, neighbor Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales* are commended, along with "Thoreau's books."<sup>12</sup> Indeed, though he is not named, it is surely Henry David Thoreau whom Alcott had in mind when, proposing an atlas of Concord, he writes, "Happily we have a sort of resident Surveyor-General of the town's farms, farmers, animals, and everything else it contains,—who makes more of it than most persons with a continent at their call."<sup>13</sup>

Alcott's former assistant at his Temple School, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, is mentioned in this report along with Mrs. Ralph Waldo Emerson, who "has generously repeated her offer to supply the [school] yards with roses and flower seeds."<sup>14</sup> It is recorded also that "Mr. Emerson has given the school a conversation on persons and books, telling lively anecdotes of both. . . . He gave them some criticisms on their reading and speaking, read himself from Shakespeare, and recommended some favorite authors for their perusal," authors to whom Alcott added Emerson himself.<sup>15</sup> Although Ephraim Bull, cultivator of the Concord grape, was prevented from giving an account of its discovery and Mr. Thoreau was unable to deliver a talk "on his favorite theme of Nature as the friend and preceptor of man," the schools were fortunate in their visiting lecturers, gardener Pratt reading "an exceedingly interesting paper on Flowers and Flower Culture" and Franklin B. Sanborn "a paper on the History of Numbers."<sup>16</sup> It was in this school report that Bronson Alcott suggests the compilation of a Concord Book "from the writings of our townsmen and women," among them Mann, Peabody, Bradford, Hawthorne, Channing, Thoreau, and Emerson, which "if well prepared would be a work of great historical and literary interest."<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, the Concord Book never materialized.

Concord emerges in Alcott's report not only as the seat of the illustrious but also as a seedbed for reform. One of the current pedagogical and health reforms favored by the superintendent of schools was the new system of gymnastics introduced by Dio Lewis, who "has kindled an enthusiasm that has spread throughout the town." Alcott's daughter Louisa, viewing Concord's calisthenic fervor in its more amusing aspects, would write a serial, "The King of Clubs and the Queen of Hearts," in April 1862, using as characters the tyro gymnasts who made up in starch and studs what they lacked in color and the old ladies who tossed bean bags till their caps were awry.<sup>18</sup>

The events of the time, from the contagion for gymnastics to the Civil War itself, can be discerned in this school report. Almost with tongue in cheek, Alcott writes as follows regarding the conflict so soon to begin: "At the risk of smuggling in the juvenile politics, I may allude to the patriotic style in which the boys played their *snow* game against secession South, dissolving that treason some weeks before the Illinois Splitter Elect set himself about removing the traitorous wedge from the cleft, to save the Union if he could for Young America." And he added, "Perhaps Liberty cares as much for the boys and girls as for their seniors, and is proving their mettle meanwhile for the coming games."<sup>19</sup>

Louisa Alcott had no tongue in cheek when she composed the words to the air "All the Blue Bonnets are over the Border" for the school exhibition of March 1861. Her lyrics are more bellicose than her father's milder allusions, and they aroused a storm of controversy before they were finally read and sung. It was the second stanza with its inflammatory references to the martyr John Brown, who had seized Harpers Ferry, and to the abolitionist Wendell Phillips that stirred objections:

Here is the New World that yet shall be founded;  
Here are our Websters, our Sumners and Hales,  
And here, with ambition by boat-racing bounded,  
Perhaps there may be a new Splitter of rails.  
Here are our future men,  
Here are John Browns again;



Here are young Phillipses eyeing our blunders;  
 Yet may the river see  
 Hunt, Hosmer, Flint and Lee  
 Stand to make Concord hills echo their thunders.<sup>20</sup>

In her journal Louisa briefly described the reaction to her verses: "Father had his usual school festival, and Emerson asked me to write a song, which I did. On the 16th [18th] the schools all met in the hall (four hundred),—a pretty posy bed, with a border of proud parents and friends. Some of the fogies objected to the names Phillips and John Brown. But Emerson said: 'Give it up? No, no; *I will read it.*' Which he did, to my great contentment; for when the great man of the town says 'Do it,' the thing is done. So the choir warbled, and the Alcotts were uplifted in their vain minds."<sup>21</sup>

The supplement to the school report put it even more briefly: "Mr. Emerson then read Miss Alcott's lively song, which was charmingly sung by Misses Wilson, Hosmer and Adams."<sup>22</sup> But in a letter to her older sister Anna, Louisa elaborated about her lyric, its condemnation, and its fate:

Father was aghast [at the proposed deletion], for it was the pride of his life since Emerson pronounced it "excellent very excellent." Mother was rabid, & denounced the whole town, & I sternly said "They shall sing every word, or nary song shall they have." Well we went to the meeting, Mr. [John Shepard] Keyes came & said "Thank you Miss Alcott for y'r fine song Miss Alcott the *second* verse especially." Sanborn said "Stand to y'r principles Miss Alcott & let them get the credit of a good thing in spite of themselves." & when father asked Mr. Emerson's advice about giving it up he said "No, No, it shall be sung, & not only sung but read first & I will read it," & to my amazement he did it in the face of the whole town. Lord! I felt so grand.<sup>23</sup>

Bronson Alcott, too, had every reason to feel grand. According to Louisa's journal,

Father was in glory, like a happy shepherd with a large flock of sportive lambs, for all did something. . . . When all was over, and Father about to dismiss them, F[red]. H[arlow]., a tall, handsome lad came to him, and looking up confidently to the benign old face, asked "our dear friend Mr. Alcott to accept of Pilgrim's Progress and George Herbert's Poems from the children of Concord, as a token of their love and respect." Father was much touched and surprised, and blushed and stammered like a boy, hugging the fine books while the children cheered till the roof rung.<sup>24</sup>

As for the report, that too was "much admired, and a thousand copies printed to supply the demand, for it was a new thing to have a report, neither dry nor dull, and teachers were glad of the hints given, making education a part of religion, not a mere bread-making grind for teacher and an irksome cram for children."<sup>25</sup>

As superintendent of Concord schools, trudging from school to school, from Bateman's Pond to Nine Acre Corner, interviewing teachers, observing classes, organizing school festivals, Bronson earned \$100 annually over a period of some six years.<sup>26</sup> Whatever influence he had upon his pupils was, as is the nature of such matters, transitory. But in his more permanent school reports, of which the 1860–1861 report was the most voluminous, he did indeed make education a part of religion. Here he mirrored the childhood education of his own children and the town in which they grew up, and here too he shared his honors with his daughter Louisa at the most climactic moment in the nation's history.

## NOTES

1. Bronson Alcott's experimental and progressive Temple School in Boston, which operated from September 1834 to March 1839, failed after he was castigated for being obscene. See [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody], *Record of a School: Exemplifying the General Principles of Spiritual Culture* (Boston and New York: James Munroe-Leavitt, Lord, 1835). The school provided a model for the Plumfield of Louisa May Alcott's *Little Men*.



2. *Reports of the Selectmen and Other Officers of the Town of Concord, from March 5, 1860, to March 4, 1861* (Concord: Benjamin Tolman, 1861). The Superintendent's Report of the Concord Schools to the School Committee for the year 1860–1861 follows other reports, which are separately paginated, and occupies pages [1] to 67. The Supplement (pp. 1–11) follows. See *BAL* 107. The work is hereafter referred to as *Report*. For Alcott's other school reports, see *BAL* 106, 108, 110.

3. *Report*, 35.

4. *Report*, 30.

5. *Report*, 33.

6. *Report*, 53.

7. *Report*, 9.

8. *Report*, 15.

9. *Report*, 15.

10. For details of Louisa May Alcott's life, see Madeleine B. Stern, *Louisa May Alcott* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

11. *Report*, 48.

12. *Report*, 14, 28.

13. *Report*, 26.

14. *Report*, 50.

15. *Report*, 52.

16. *Report*, 53.

17. *Report*, 16.

18. *Report*, 21. Dio Lewis, 1823–1886, pioneer in gymnastic education and temperance reformer, conducted a school for girls in Lexington, Massachusetts, from 1864 to 1868. "The King of Clubs and the Queen of Hearts," Louisa's serial, appeared in *The Monitor* (Concord) 1 (19 April–7 June 1862): 1–7. See also Stern, *Louisa May Alcott*, 112.

19. *Report*, 8–9.

20. *Report* [Supplement], 2.

21. The entry was made in February 1861. *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989), 104.

22. *Report* [Supplement], 5.

23. *The Selected Letters of Louisa May Alcott* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1987), 63n. The quotation is from Anna Alcott's manuscript copy of the letter that appears also in slightly different form on pages 62–63. There Louisa remarks: "Emerson spoke, & my song was sung after a little flurry before hand. It has one verse in it about John Brown, Philips & Co. & some of the old fogies thought it better be left out. But Mr. Emerson said, 'No, no, that is the best. It must be sung, & not only sung but read. I will read it,' & he did, to my great surprise & pride. Concord never will dare to say a word now. What a queer narrow minded set many of the people are."

24. *Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, 104. Entry dated February 1861.

25. *Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, 104. According to Bronson Alcott, in a letter to William Russell, Concord, 2 April 1861, "The pamphlet has been hustled into paragraph and type, under every impediment of pressure, amidst examinations that must be had before they could be described, and but a week's time or a little more allowed us for composing large parts of the text and the printing of the thousand copies of it, for delivery at our town meeting yesterday. The portraits [a reference to the section "School Portraits" starting on p. 51?] were mostly drawn at the Printing office, and only seen but once by me in proof: you will find many provoking errors of course, and excuse us if you can under the circumstances, though our schoolmaster can hardly hope to escape hearing charges of shiftless spelling and composition, from his readers. It would gratify me if our Genial Professor [Alcott's friend and correspondent William Russell was a well-known educator] would run through the pages and mark them in pencil for us, as I know they cannot elude the eye of his logic or good taste or skill in the composition of our tongue. Then we shall be so far advanced in comparing notes when we meet." Richard L. Herrnstadt, ed., *The Letters of A. Bronson Alcott* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1969), 320–21.

26. Odell Shepard, *Pedlar's Progress: The Life of Bronson Alcott* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937), 476–77.



PORTRAIT OF GIERONIMO (GIROLAMO) BENZONI

# Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (1572)

MADISON U. SOWELL

The Harold B. Lee Library's holdings of sixteenth-century Continental books rank easily among the most impressive and significant in the western United States. While hundreds of editions of Renaissance scholar-printers—e.g., Aldus Manutius and his heirs, the Giuntas, Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Johannes Froben, Simon de Colines, and the various Estiennes and Plantins—form the heart of BYU's extensive collection of early printed books, many titles by lesser-known printers and publishers are also found among the library's jewels of the Cinquecento. In this article I shall limit myself to an examination of the provenance, contents, and import of one rather curious gem: Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (History of the New World) in the second, enlarged edition, commissioned by the brothers Pietro and Francesco Tini and printed in Venice by the heirs of Giovan Maria Bonelli in 1572. The book itself is small in size, being a duodecimo in format (15.1 x 9.7 cm.) and containing 184 leaves. Its illustrations include a portrait of the author and 18 delightful woodcuts.

Brigham Young University's copy, bound in vellum, was once owned by William A. Chatto (1799–1864), whose signature appears

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Madison U. Sowell received his Ph.D. from Harvard and has done postdoctoral study at Columbia, Dartmouth, and Cornell. He teaches Italian and comparative literature at Brigham Young University and chairs the Department of French and Italian. A Friend of the BYU Library, he organized and wrote the catalog for the 1988 library exhibit "Italian Renaissance Books, 1478–1587." He has edited or co-edited various journals and book-length publications, including *Italian Echoes in the Rocky Mountains* (1990) and *Dante and Ovid: Essays in Intertextuality* (1991).

LA HISTORIA DEL  
MONDO NUOVO  
DI M. GIROLAMO BENZONI  
MILANESE.

*LA QUAL TRATTA DELLE  
Isole, & mari nuouamente ritrouati, et delle  
nuoue Città da lui proprio Vedute,  
per acqua, & per terra in  
quattordecì anni.*

*Nuouamente ristampata, et illustrata con la giunta d'alcune  
cose notabile dell' Isole di Canaria.*

CON PRIVILEGIO.



IN VENEZIA, Ad instantia di Pietro, & Francesco  
Tini, fratelli. M. D. LXXII.



on the flyleaf and whose biography appears in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. A miscellaneous author and editor of *New Sporting Magazine* (1839–1841) and the comic paper *Puck* (1844), Chatto wrote at least three studies of the history of wood engravings: *A Treatise on Wood Engraving, Historical and Practical* (1839, 2nd ed. 1861, 3rd ed. 1877), *History and Art of Wood Engraving* (1848), and *Gems of Wood Engraving from the “Illustrated London News”* (1848). His deep scholarly interest in woodcuts likely accounts for his possession of the illustrated *Historia*. His third son, Andrew, was also involved in the publishing business and became a member of the distinguished London publishing firm of Chatto & Windus. From the back paste-down endpaper of the university’s *Historia* we learn from annotations and a label that the book passed through the hands of at least two prominent antiquarian bookdealers, Bernard Quaritch of London and William Salloch of New York state.

Messer Girolamo Benzoni was born in Milan in 1519, the year Leonardo da Vinci died and Cortes began his conquest of Mexico. In 1533, when Pizarro conquered Peru, our author would have been a young, impressionable teenager; in 1535, when Milan became a fief of Spain, he would have been sixteen years of age. According to the *Historia*, Benzoni passed the years between 1541 and 1556 traveling through the newly discovered “paesi . . . dell’India” (lands of India), universally known as “il Mondo Nuovo.” He was only twenty-two years old when he left the comforts of Milan for Seville, his port of departure for the West Indies. He first visited the Lesser Antilles; then he participated in numerous Spanish expeditions to Puerto Rico, Haiti, and Cuba; finally, he spent time on the American continent, in Panama, Guatemala, and Peru, where he visited Cuzco. Upon leaving Peru, he traveled to Nicaragua and then back to Guatemala, whence he left for Spain in 1554. Unfortunately, because of a shipwreck near Cuba in which he lost most of his accumulated wealth, his return to Spain was delayed for two years. No sooner did Benzoni arrive in Seville, in September 1556, than he left for Genoa and, ultimately, his native Milan. Nine years later he published the first edition of *La Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (1565); the second edition, with an additional chapter on the

Canary Islands, appeared after another seven years (1572). Benzoni died sometime thereafter, although the exact year is unknown.

Undoubtedly because of the book's unflattering portraits of many Spanish colonizers, both editions were published in self-ruled Venice rather than in Spanish-dominated Milan. The colophon of the second edition records that it appeared "appresso gli heredi di Giovan Maria Bonelli." *Appresso* (equivalent to the Latin *apud* or the French *chez*) translates in this instance as "available at" and indicates that the book was likely sold on the premises of the Bonelli establishment. The Bonelli family, while not particularly renowned—or even well known—in the history of Italian printing and publishing, nevertheless produced and sold a variety of books during its publishing existence. According to one survey, Giovan Maria Bonelli printed at least thirty books between 1552 and 1569, and his heirs and family members published an almost equal number between 1571 and 1589.<sup>1</sup>

Although Benzoni's New World history enjoyed great success between the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, including over thirty editions in Latin, Dutch, French, and German, it was not until our own century that the book was reprinted a third time in Italian. Brief extracts were published in English as early as 1625, but the only complete translation in our tongue, published by the Hakluyt Society in London, dates from 1857.<sup>2</sup>

The Milanese voyager divides his history into three books, entitled simply *Libro Primo*, *Libro Secondo*, and *Libro Terzo*. The 1572 edition, in which a historiated initial opens each of the three books, also contains a dedicatory preface to Senator Scipione Simoneta and, as mentioned above, a brief discourse on the Canary Islands at the end of the third book. The intriguing woodcut illustrations, all of which are titled, treat a wide range of subjects and are worthy of listing *in toto*:

1. *Indiana maravigliosa in Cumana* (Wondrous female Indian in Cumana [city in Venezuela]).

2. *Modo di navigare nel mare di Tramontana* (Mode of navigation on the northern waters).



3. *Modo di dormire nel Golfo di Paria, & altri molti luoghi* (Mode of sleeping in the Gulf of Paria [between Trinidad and the continent] and many other places).

4. *Come gl'Indiani colavano l'oro in bocca à gli Spagnuoli, & dell'habito che lor portano in diversi lochi di terra ferma* (How Indians pour gold into the mouth of Spaniards and the native dress in different places on the continent).



INDIANS POURING GOLD INTO THE GREEDY SPANISH

5. *Indiani della Spagnuola per non servire à i Cristiani, si andavano à impiccare alli boschi* (Indians in Haiti who, in order not to serve the Christians, hang themselves in the woods).

6. *Modo che tengono i medici nel medicare gl'infermi* (How doctors care for the sick).

7. *Modo di fare il pane* (Mode of making bread).

8. *Modo di fare il vino* (Mode of making wine).

9. *Alberi che producono frutti* (Trees that produce fruit).

10. *Casa benissimo coperta nella provincia di Suere* (Well-covered house in the Province of Suere [Modern-day Panama]).

11. *Albero, che produce il cacavate, & come gl'Indiani di due legni cavano fuoco* (Tree that produces cacavate fruit, and how Indians make fire with two sticks).

12. *Alberi che producono le zucche, del che gl'Indiani generalmente se ne servono de' vasi* (Trees that produce squash, which the Indians generally use as vases).

13. *Modo di ballare* (Mode of dance).

14. *Come gl'Indiani vivono sopra gli Arbori* (How Indians live in trees).



SPANISH ATTACK ON INDIAN TREE HOUSE

15. *Il modo di pescare, & navigare nel mare di Mezogiorno [sic]* (Mode of fishing and sailing in the southern waters).

16. *Come gl'Indiani del Perù adorano il Sole, & lo tengono per lo suo principal Iddio* (How the Indians of Peru worship the sun and regard it as their chief god).

17. *Il modo che tengono gli orefici nel lavorare, & fondere l'oro, & l'argento* (How artisans work and melt gold and silver).

18. *Arboro, che sempre stilla acqua per le foglie, nell'Isola del Ferro* (Tree that always distills water from its leaves on the Island of Ferro [in the Canaries]).

Benzoni, the first non-Spaniard to write a comprehensive history of America, intermingles the subjects represented by the woodcuts with a history of Columbus, Pizarro, and other Spanish conquerors. The historical record—largely borrowed with little

modification from such histories as those of Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdes, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, and Bartolomé de Las Casas — offers very little proof that the Italian author ever visited America. The intermingled and personalized descriptions of Indian customs, dress, food, and pastimes, however, are enough to



INDIANS WHO PREFER SUICIDE OVER SPANISH RULE

convince most readers that Benzoni did indeed spend over fourteen years in the New World.

The illustrations, which supposedly testify to what Benzoni witnessed, are also a provocative part of this early history, although one wonders — given the intriguingly primitive nature of many of the woodcuts — if the author supervised and guided the illustrator or simply allowed the written history to inform the artist's imagination. As for the prose narrative, it is, for the most part, spoken Italian with few or no literary pretensions. Spelling is neither standard nor uniform. Paragraph and subject divisions rarely appear, though digressions abound. The tone or style of the volume, as a result, mimics that of diarists who take copious notes on their readings and interject their own recollections whenever it so pleases them.

To illustrate with one example the colloquial tone Benzoni creates, I should like to quote and translate an intriguing passage



describing dance in Nicaragua. This passage concludes a section detailing the native words for various items, including dance, and reads as follows:

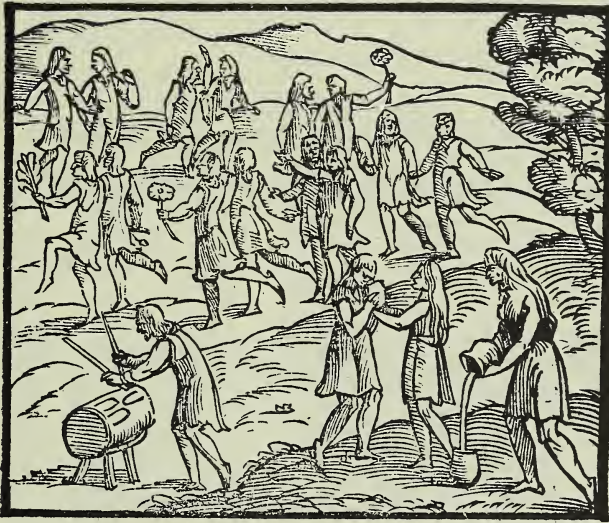
Chiamano . . . ballare mitote; e ballano in questo modo. Si uniscono insieme dugento, e trecento, & ancora tre, & quattro mila, conforme alla Provincia, dove sono gente assai ò poca, & nettato benissimo la piazza, dove hanno da ballare, uno di loro passa avanti à guidare la danza, andando quasi sempre in dietro, rivolgendosi qualche volta, & così tutti gli altri, à tre, e quattro lo seguivano in ordinanza, quegli che suonano tamburi, cominciano à cantare certe lor canzoni, & quello che guida la danza è il primo à rispondere; così di mano in mano fanno tutti gli altri, chi porta un ventale in mano, chi una zucca con certe pietre piccole dentro, chi piumaggi nella testa, chi filze di cappe marine alle braccia, alle gambe, chi si rivolge à un modo, chi à un'altro, chi alza le gambe, chi maneggia le braccia, chi fa il cieco, chi 'l zoppo, chi ride, chi piange, & così con altri molti gesti, sempre bevendo di quel loro cacavate, ballano tutto il giorno, & alle volte parte della notte.

I would translate the above description, which consists of only two sentences in the original, in this manner:

They [the Nicaraguans] call dance “mitote”; and they dance after this fashion. Two and three hundred form a group, and even three and four thousand, according to the region, whether there are many or few people. After having cleared very well the place where they are to dance, one of them goes forward and leads the dance, going almost always backwards [and] sometimes turning himself around. And so all the others, three and four at a time, follow him in order. Those who play drums begin to sing certain of their songs, and the one who leads the dance is the first to respond; and so in turn do all the others. One carries a fan in hand, another a gourd with certain small stones inside, one plumage on his head, another strings of seashells on his arms [and] on his legs; one turns in one way [and] one in another; one lifts

his legs, another moves his arms; one plays a blind man, another a lame person; one laughs, another cries. And so with many other gestures, always drinking their “cacavate” [a local beverage], they dance all day and, at times, part of the night.

Although the passage does not contain clear descriptions of movement patterns, it does suggest many aspects of the native dance, including the number of participants, their ordering, the music and vocal accompaniment, and the dance’s mimetic nature.<sup>3</sup>



MODE OF NICARAGUAN DANCE

Benzoni’s first book opens with an overview of the author’s journey from Italy to Spain to the islands of the Caribbean. It then details sights seen on the islands and mainland of Central and South America, presenting such items as the capture of Indian slaves (and the lamentable conduct of the Christian—i.e., Spanish—soldiers in their regard), Indian marriage customs (including the practice of polygamy), culinary habits (including anthropophagy), habits of dress (males wear only strategically placed gourds), and the principal arms of the Indians (bows and poisoned arrows).

Most of the book, however, deals with Christopher Columbus and his brother Bartholomew. Benzoni appears to be the first to state that Columbus attempted, via his brother, to obtain the sponsorship of King Henry VII of England for the initial voyage of discovery. The text outlines the problems Columbus had with thieving soldiers and depicts the Spanish colonizers generally as avaricious, lustful, and murderous. The author continually underscores, in addition, their hypocrisy in claiming to take Christianity to the Indians while indulging in anything but Christian behavior. The history also summarizes various Indian uprisings and rebellions and notes the natives' fear of horses. The first part concludes by discussing Haiti's geography and vegetation and includes a reference to the island's important sugar crop.



THE ART OF BAKING BREAD





PRACTICE OF MEDICINE IN HISPANIOLA (MODERN-DAY HAITI)

The second book starts with a characteristic condemnation of Spanish cruelty to the Indian slaves who work the Haitian sugar fields and who, according to Benzoni, are regularly stripped naked, whipped, tarred, and buried alive. The author records the daring of the French who rob Spanish ships loaded with the riches of Peru and relates how the angry Spanish convinced the Indians, on one occasion, that the French were sodomites in order to incite the natives to war. More than once Benzoni notes that every European who travels to the Americas, himself not excluded, has one overarching aim: “per farsi ricco” (to make himself rich). He points out that the Spanish histories claim the Spaniards fought in America “per la fede Cristiana” (for the Christian faith), but that they really fought “per l’avaritia” (because of avariciousness). Indians are often portrayed as commenting on the discrepancy between the teachings of Christianity and the un-Christian actions of most Spaniards. Near the end of this part Benzoni tells of the dissolute life of one Indian who adopted “Christianity” and regrettably also adopted Spanish behavior.



The final book narrates the history of the Pizarro brothers and their bloody conquest of Peru. Benzoni describes the capture, ransom, and murder of the Peruvian ruler Attabaliba and later the deaths of the Pizarros themselves. Other detailed atrocities include Spaniards who kill Indians and feed their bodies to dogs, and Indians who murder their children so they will not have to serve detested Spaniards. The Indians, however, do not always appear as innocent victims. Peruvians, for example, who are worshippers of the sun, supposedly discourse regularly with the devil. The narrator concludes his history with an account of his return to Milan via Havana, Madeira, Seville, and Genoa. The additional chapter on the Canary Islands names the various islands, gives a brief history, and closes with a description of a miraculous tree that constantly distills water from its leaves.

The anti-Spanish sentiment of this history pervades almost every page, casting doubts on the author's objectivity. The writer relies heavily on other histories, rather than on primary source documents, for much of his narrative, raising serious questions about the preciseness of the historical facts. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the naive freshness of so many of Benzoni's personal observations—from his wonder at naked Indians covered with paint to his marvel at the frenzied dancing of several hundred or thousand natives—makes this record a valuable contribution to our understanding of how the New World inhabitants and conquerors were perceived in the century following Columbus's voyage, whose quincentenary we commemorate in 1992.<sup>4</sup>



CANARY ISLAND WEeping TREE

## NOTES

1. Ester Pastorello, *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI* (Florence: Olschki, 1924), locates almost 60 editions published in Venice by the various members of the Bonelli family in the second half of the sixteenth century: 30 for Giovanni Maria Bonelli (1552–56, 1559–60, 1562–65, 1567–69), 9 for the heirs (*eredi*) of Giovanni Maria Bonelli (1571–72, 1574–76), 2 for Giovan Maria Bonelli il Giovane (1575–76), 5 for Michele Bonelli (1573, 1575–76), 10 for Valerio Bonelli (1579, 1584–87), and 3 for the heirs of Valerio Bonelli (1588–89).

2. For a modern, annotated edition of Benzoni's history, see *La historia del Mondo Nuovo di Girolamo Benzoni*, ed. Alfredo Vig (Milan: Giordano, 1965); for a Spanish translation and commentary, see M. Girolamo Benzoni, *La historia del Mundo Nuevo*, trans. Marisa Vannini de Gerulewicz (Caracas: Italgrafica, 1967).

3. The only work known to me that treats any era of Nicaraguan dance is *The Gueguence: A Comedy Ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua*, ed. Daniel G. Brinton (Philadelphia: D. G. Brinton, 1883), 94 pp., illustrated.

4. This article was first presented as a lecture with slides on 12 July 1991 at the Fourth International Conference on Italian Culture and Italy Today: Italy and Europe, organized by The Frederick May Foundation for Italian Studies at the University of Sydney in Australia.

THE TRUE  
SPIRIT  
OF  
POPERY:  
OR THE  
Treachery and Cruelty  
OF THE  
PAPISTS

Exercis'd against the  
PROTESTANTS  
IN  
All Ages and Countries where *Popery*  
has had the Upper-hand.

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*Publis'd to Convince the Nation of the Fatal Consequences,  
attending Popish Tyranny.*

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L O N D O N:

Printed for Richard Baldwin, next the *Black Bull* in  
the *Old-Bailly*, MDC LXXXVIII.

# The Huguenot Booktrade in London

## 1685–1700

LEONA ROSTENBERG

The Harold B. Lee Library's outstanding collection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French *plaquettes* (pamphlets), and in particular its extensive holdings relating to the later Huguenot (French Protestant) struggle (1670–1700), elucidates the history of France during those convulsive years.

King Henry IV of France—a former Huguenot overwhelmed by the divisiveness within his kingdom, eager to conciliate Catholics and Protestants, and prepared to establish political and social harmony—issued on 15 April 1598 the Edict of Nantes. Although the edict established Catholicism as the accepted religion of France, it also granted freedom of worship to the minority sect in French cities and towns, where since 1577 Calvinism had survived under the terms of the Peace of Bergerac.

The heightened program of French commerce and industry that developed through the years, guided by the genius of Finance Minister Jean Colbert, was nurtured largely by the Huguenot merchants and industrialists, prosperous and energetic members of the middle class. Although the Huguenots, numbering approximately one million, were overtly respected, a deep-seated and steadily growing hostility toward them pervaded Catholic France.

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By the early 1670s, official persecution assailed the welfare and future of the Huguenots: they were denied official promotion, and universities were barred to their sons. Encouraged by the enmity of the clergy and the official jealousy of petty statesmen, castigation of the Huguenots intensified. On 22 October 1685, Louis XIV, harassed by pressure from his wife, Madame de Maintenon, staunch friend of the clerics, and urged on by his father confessor, Père Lachaise, issued the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a decree that spelled economic ruin for France.<sup>1</sup>

French Protestants who had not already fled the kingdom now sought refuge abroad. In England, traditionally hostile to France and presently on the verge of war with its old enemy, they found a warm welcome. The cause of the exiled Frenchman was further advanced by the support of the English press, which was ready to unleash a host of pamphlets antagonistic to France, lampoons and libels savored by the English reading public. Before Louis XIV actually declared war against England and Scotland in 1689, the English press had long since begun its own paper war, a war that bolstered the confidence of exiled French Protestants, who shared the faith of their English brethren. On 29 April 1689, the great scientist Robert Hooke wrote in his diary, "Invitation to invite French Protestants."

The English press of the late seventeenth century found its anti-French precedent in events of more than a century earlier. In 1562 Elizabeth I issued her *Protestation par laquelle elle declare les iustes & necessaires occasions qui l'ont meue de prendre la Protection de la cause de Dieu*. In this pamphlet, Elizabeth, prompted by the Prince de Condé, cited her reasons for granting support to the Huguenots. Signing the Treaty of Hampton Court with Condé, she agreed to support him with men and naval supplies in the hope of restoring Calais to the English. The 1587 translation by a celebrated English poet of a distinguished Huguenot treatise combines two great names of the age: *A woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion* by Philippe Du Plessis Mornay, translated into English by Sir Philip Sidney. Upon Sidney's death, the English version was completed by Sir Arthur Golding. A work of extreme spirituality by one of the Huguenots' principal interpreters, the

THE  
FRENCH HERALD

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SUMMONING ALL TRVE  
*Christian Princes to a generall  
Croisade, for a holy warr a-  
gainst the great Enemy of Chri-  
stendome, and all  
his Slaues.*

V P O N T H E O C C A S I O N O F  
the most execrable murder of  
H E N R Y the great.

---

TO THE PRINCE.



LONDON

Printed by E. Alde for Mathew Lownes, and are  
to be sold at his shop at the signe of the  
Bishops head in Pauls Church-  
yard,            1 6 1 1.

translation brought to English readers the true essence of the French Reformed faith. In 1588, the well-known publisher John Field of London circulated *The Restorer of the French Estate discovering the Causes of the Warres in France & other countries*. Field anticipated the appeal of the work to English readers since it was anti-Catholic, applauding the succession of the Huguenot Henry IV after the assassination of the last Valois. *The Restorer* treats further the French religious wars and the persecution of French Protestants. *The French Herald Summoning all True Christian Princes to a general Croisade . . . Upon the Occasion of the most execrable murther of Henry the great*, published in 1611, recalls the violent assassination of Henry IV of France, a monarch dear to English Protestants.<sup>2</sup>

The English press remained aware of the religious tensions in France that culminated in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Prior to the announcement of the Revocation, as early as 1678, the prominent English publisher Richard Chiswell issued an account of the St. Bartholomew Day Massacre: *A Relation of the Barbarous and Bloody Massacre of about an hundred thousand Protestants . . . by the Papists*. The work was designed to reject Papist France and engender sympathy for persecuted Huguenots.<sup>3</sup>

Chiswell and a medley of English stationers launched a fivefold press program against France. Many of their publications now enhance the Harold B. Lee Library collection and can be grouped into five categories: political propaganda, reports of Huguenot persecution in France, Reform doctrine and liturgy, anglicization of the French exile through dictionaries and grammars, and relaxation of refugee Frenchmen through circulation of novels and plays.

From 1681 through 1698 Richard Baldwin of the Blue Bull, Old Bailey, published some one-hundred fifty books and pamphlets of a political nature, of which approximately one-half are anti-French. Baldwin's numerous pamphlets reflect his contempt for the aging monarch at Versailles, Louis's unceasing imperialistic passion, his countless wars, the destruction of French manhood, and the evisceration of a people weary of military conflict. They express in addition English fears of a French invasion and disruption of the kingdom. The Harold B. Lee Library possesses a rich corpus of material issued by Baldwin and his contemporaries, all of which



A  
RELATION  
Of the *Barbarous and Bloody* 4  
MASSACRE  
Of about an hundred thousand  
PROTESTANTS,  
BEGUN  
At PARIS, and carried on over  
all FRANCE by the PAPISTS,  
in the Year 1572.

---

Collected out of *Mezeray, Thuanus,*  
and other approved Authors.

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L O N D O N, Printed for Richard Chiswel, at the  
Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1678.

mirrors late-seventeenth-century English political, religious, and social attitudes.<sup>4</sup>

Among these English pamphlets kindling anti-French propaganda are *The French Intrigues Discovered* (Baldwin, 1681), *The Detestable Designs of France Expos'd* (Clavell, 1689), *The Ambitious Practises of France* (Taylor, 1689), *The Intrigues of the French King at Constantinople* (Newman, 1689), *The Politicks of the French King* (Wotton, 1689), *The Spirit of France* (Churchill, 1689), Beuninghen's *The French King's Dream* (Baldwin, 1689), *The Great Bastard* (Baldwin, 1689), *The Design of Enslaving England* by Robert Ferguson "the Plotter" (Baldwin, 1689), *The Present French King drawn to the Life* (Baldwin, 1690), *King Lewis of France, the Hector of Europe* (Baldwin, 1690), and *The Present Condition of France in reference to her Revenues* (Rhodes & Harris, 1692).<sup>5</sup>

To arouse the public to the enormity of Louis XIV's persecutions against the Huguenots in France, the English press circulated translations of official French decrees and texts. Chief among them was the English version of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: *The French King's Decree against Protestants; prohibiting them the Exercise of their Religion* (Crayle, 1689). Others included *The History of the Persecution of the French Protestants by the French King in the Principality of Orange from 1660 to 1687* (Rogers & Smith, 1689), *The French King's Design against Protestants* (Crayle, 1689), Richard Strutton's *The Cruelties and Barbarities of the French upon the English Prisoners of War* (Baldwin, 1690), *Negotiations of the Ambassadors sent to the Duke of Savoy by the Protestant Swiss Cantons in favor of the disturbed Vaudois* (Bentley, 1691), *The Present State of the Vaudois* (Watts, 1691), and *A Faithful Account of the Present State of the Persecution of the Churches of Lower Aquitaine* (Baldwin, 1692).<sup>6</sup>

In England, exiled Huguenots found succor in these texts of faith and doctrine as well as in the sermons of their high priests issued by a sympathetic English press: *La Bible* (Bentley, Everingham, Hindmarsh, 1687), *Les Pseaumes de David* (Everingham, Bentley, Hindmarsh, 1686), *La Liturgie* (Everingham: se vend chez R. Bentley & M. Magnes, 1689), and *Liturgia Tigurina, or the Book of Common Prayer* "translated out of the Helvetian by John Conrad Werndly, former Minister of the French and Dutch Congregation of Xantoft

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Persecutions  
OF THE  
PROTESTANTS  
BY THE  
*French King,*  
IN THE  
Principality of *ORANGE*,  
From the Year 1660. to the Year 1687.

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Written by Monsieur *Pineton* Pastor of the Church of  
*Orange*, and Professor of Divinity, and Chaplain to  
his Highness the Prince of *Orange*.

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With a particular Account of the Author's Fall through  
the Violence of the Persecution.

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Licensed, Jan. 25th 1689.

*Rob. Midgley.*

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L O N D O N:

Printed for *William Rogers* at the *Sun* over against St. *Dunstan's* Church  
in *Fleet-street*; and *Samuel Smith* at the *Princes Arms*  
in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard MDCLXXXIX.

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T H E  
*Detestable Designs of FRANCE*  
E X P O S ' D.

Or, the True  
S E N T I M E N T S  
O F T H E  
*Spanish Netherlanders:*

REPRESENTING  
The Injustice of the King of *F R A N C E*  
B Y H I S  
D E C L A R A T I O N

Of War against His Catholick M A J E S T Y ,  
And the Justice of the  
C O U N T E R - D E C L A R A T I O N  
of the Marquess of *Gastanaga* his Governour Ge-  
neral of the *Low-Countries*.

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*London*, Printed for *Robert Clavel* at the *Peacock* at the  
West end of *St. Pauls Church-yard*. 1689.

THE  
French King's  
D E C R E E  
A G A I N S T  
Protestants,

Prohibiting them the Exercise of their Religion, &c.

To which is added

A Brief and True Account of the Cruel P E R-  
SECUTION and inhumane Oppressions of  
those of the *Reformed Religion*, to make them  
Abjure and Apostatize.

Together with the Form of Abjuration the Revolting  
Protestants are to Subscribe and Swear to.

And a Declaration of his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburgh*  
in favour of those of the *Reformed Religion*, who shall  
think fit to settle themselves in any of his Dominions.

Also a Letter from Father *laChese*, Confessor to the *French*  
King, to Father *Petre*, Jesuit and Great Almoner to  
the King of *England*, upon the Method or Rule he must  
observe with His Majesty, for the Conversion of His  
Protestant Subjects in *England*, &c.

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Newly Translated from the French.

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Licensed, January 18. 1683.

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London, Printed for the Author, and Sold by the Book-  
sellers of London and Westminster, 1689.



in the Isle of Axholm in the County of Lincoln & now Minister of Wransburg Langley in the County of Bucks" (Baldwin, 1693). Among the sermons of Huguenot divines and the devotional works made available in England were Pierre Jurieu's *Pastoral Letters* (Hindmarsh, 1688), *L'Ame Afflige* (Se vend chez Lucas, 1695), *The Policy of the Clergy of France* (Bentley, 1681), *Judgment upon the question of defending our Religion* (Baldwin, 1689), and *A Plain Method of Christian Devotion* (Harper, 1692). Of special significance was *An Account of the Persecutions and Oppressions* by Jean Claude (Norris, 1686).<sup>7</sup>

To assist the exiles in conversation in their adopted land, to facilitate their new business relations, to aid their sons now at "foreign" schools, the press issued a variety of handbooks, notably dictionaries and grammars. The philological treatises of Claude Mauger—*Grammaire Angloise* (Edwark, 1699) and *Grammaire Française* (Bentley & Harrison, 1684; Bentley & Magnes, 1686)—were printed or reprinted for the new French influx. The language texts of the traveler and savant Guy Miege were well represented on the English trade list: *A Short Dictionary English and French* (Basset, 1684, 1685), *Nouvelle Methode pour apprendre d'Anglois* (Basset, 1685), *The Great French Dictionary* (Basset, 1688), *The Grounds of the French Tongue* (Basset, 1687), and *The English Grammar* (Author, 1688). The philological contributions of other French writers, Paul Festeau and Pierre Berault, were also sought by Huguenots abroad. *The Trinity Term Catalogue* for 1688 announced Berault's *New, plain, short . . . French and English Grammar; whereby the Learner may attain in few Months to speak and write French correctly*. Festeau's *New Double Grammar* appeared in London in 1696 with a Brussels imprint.<sup>8</sup>

To divert exiles from the tedium of the philological studies of Messieurs Mauger and Miege, the English press offered a variety of novels and plays in French. Although older Huguenots may have found comfort in works of piety, the younger generation doubtless sought relaxation in the novels of Bremond and La Roche-Guilhem.

Richard Bentley of the Post House, Russell Street, Covent Garden, was the foremost publisher of plays and novels in the vernacular. He supplied French editions of devotional works and an even far greater number of popular texts. His trade list was such that he was dubbed "Novel Bentley" by the garrulous Dunton.

Bentley was active both as a publisher and as an importer of foreign books. According to an advertisement in the *London Gazette* of 2–5 January 1687, the Library of Monsieur A. had been “lately brought into England, containing many rare and valuable Books in . . . Language and Facilities.” The books were to be sold on Wednesday, 1 February, at the Black Swan in St. Paul’s Churchyard “amongst the Woollen Drapers.” “Catalogues are given by Mr. Bentley in Covent Garden, . . . [and] Mr. Jurieu, French Bookseller in the Strand.” The announcement may have referred to the library of Monsieur Massauve of Montpellier, which was auctioned by the celebrated Edward Millington. As for Jurieu, he may have been a son of the great Huguenot Pierre Jurieu, whom he accompanied on a trip to England years earlier.<sup>9</sup>

With his partner J. Magnes or alone, Bentley issued a succession of novels and plays designed to entertain sophisticated English readers and Huguenot refugees. *Le Galand Escroc* of Sebastien Bremond and *Rare en tout* of La Roche-Guilhem bear the imprint of Jacques Magnes and Richard Bentley. A February 1685 *Term Catalogue* announces a new Bentley–Magnes publication, *Love Victorious, or the Adventures of Oronces and Eugenia: A Novel* by Louis de la Roberdiere, translated by J. E. A tempting advertisement in this issue refers to *The Chaste Seraglian, or Yolanda of Sicily: A Novel . . . done out of French by T. H.* A novel of the utmost popularity, *The Amorous Conquests of the Great Alcander or The Amours of the French King and Madam Montespan* (1685) centers on Louis XIV and his former mistress. *The Character of Love . . . Translated out of French* was announced in the *Term Catalogue* of February 1686. In 1689 Bentley announced the publication and sale of *The Amours of the Sultana of Barbary*.

While Bentley alone or with Magnes supplied the English- and French-reading public with light literature, either novel or comedy, Baldwin in 1690 published one of the most popular and notorious novels, *Histoire secrette de la Duchesse de Portsmouth* (“Chez Baldwin”). Louise Keroual had for convenience divorced her husband and married the duke of Portsmouth, a foil for her lover Charles II. The novel is a detailed account of the lady’s amours and relations with the crown.<sup>10</sup> Descended from Jeanne de France, daughter of

Charles VI, and also through the de Rohans (from Jean de Montfort, fifth duke of Brittany, and his wife Jeanne, daughter of the king of Navarre, who afterwards became the queen of Henry IV of England), Madame Keroual was related to the kings François I, Henri II, François II, Charles IX, Henri III, and Henri IV, and thus was a distant cousin of Charles II of England as well as Louis XIV of France.

Reading matter savored by the Huguenot colony in exile was supplied not only by established British members of the Stationers Company such as Bentley; Huguenots participated in the London booktrade as well. Their numbers were small, their capital meagre, and practically nothing is known of them. Even the otherwise comprehensive *The Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550–1800* ([London,] 1987), consisting of papers read at the Historical Conference of the Huguenot Society of London in September 1985 and edited by Irene Scouloudi, makes no mention of the existence of a late-seventeenth-century Huguenot press corps in London. Extremely limited financially, Huguenot members of the English booktrade rarely set up as full-fledged publishers; rather they imported books from Paris and Holland and sold them in London. Some were widows of dealers who had died prior to emigration or after arrival in England. Several lived on the fringe of the trade. Nonetheless, they formed a small but extremely interesting part of the great seventeenth-century English booktrade.

The names of four of these refugee Huguenot stationers are joined in the imprint of a single pamphlet published in 1696 entitled *Procez Criminel fait aux nommes Robert Charnock*.<sup>11</sup> This account of the trial of the Jacobite conspirator Robert Charnock—a trial that exposed Charnock's pro-Catholic machinations—is of great interest for its quadruple imprint, which combines the names of two Huguenot widows, Pean and Maret; an unknown French exile named Pierre de Varenne; and the most outstanding French Protestant bookseller of the city, Jean Cailloue. The united attitude of the exiled Huguenot booktrade toward their enemies is reflected in this imprint.

The widows Pean and Maret carried on the trade of their deceased husbands. It appears that these women immigrated to

A N  
A C C O U N T  
O F T H E  
P R I V A T E L E A G U E  
B E T W I X T  
The Late King *f A M E S* the Second,  
A N D T H E  
F R E N C H K I N G.

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In a L E T T E R from a Gentleman in *London*,  
To a Gentleman in the Countrey.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for *Wic. Chitwell*, at the *Rose and Crown* in *St. Paul's*  
Church-Yard. M D C L X X X I X.



London after the death of their spouses, hoping either to publish or import books. René Pean had been active in the Protestant strongholds of Geneva, Saumur, and La Rochelle from 1660 to 1682, when he published Reform devotional treatises. The date of Madame Pean's immigration to London remains unknown, but in 1689 she published J. Graverol's *Projet de réunion entre les protestants de la Grand'Bretagne* (Londres, chez B. G. pour la veuve René Pean, 1689). Until 1696 Pean published or participated in the publication of an additional five books, including sermons and treatises by the Huguenot divine Jacques Abbadie.<sup>12</sup>

The publishing role of the widow Maret was undistinguished. There is indication that Paul Maret was briefly active as a printer at Montpellier during 1686. His widow, once she was in London, appears to have participated in the publication of Dubourdieu's sermon at the funeral of Queen Mary, in 1695, and the proceedings of the Charnock Trial. A member of the Maret family, possibly the son of the widowed Maret, published a single book in 1700 at Pont à Mousson.<sup>13</sup>

Of the third sponsor of the Charnock Trial, De Varenne, nothing appears to be known. He may have been a descendant of Olivier de Varenne, active at Charenton during the very early years of the seventeenth century and succeeded by his widow.

Jean Cailloue, the fourth partner in the publication of the Charnock Trial, a man of capital and enterprise, ranks as the most important Huguenot bookseller, importer, and publisher in London. The progenitor of the Cailloue family seems to have been Pierre, who for either religious or political reasons departed France and settled in Leyden. A single book dated 1603 bears his imprint: *Lettre Mystique touchant la conspiration derniere*, a tract treating the conspiracy of Marshal Biron. Pierre's heir Jacques, active at Quevilly and Rouen from 1623 to 1662, was succeeded by two sons, Pierre at Quevilly and Rouen and Gui at Paris.<sup>14</sup>

Jean Cailloue, doubtless a member of this family, was in London by 1686, when he published John of Paris's *Determinatio*, bearing the imprint of B. Griffin at the expense of J. Cailloue. An additional three works were issued by Cailloue: *Reflexions sur les cinq livres de Moyse* by the divine Pierre Allix (1687); a poem satirizing



Madame de Maintenon (1695); and a treatise of the English divine John Sharp on passive disobedience, *La doctrine de l'obeissance passive* (1700).<sup>15</sup>

Cailloué's importance as a Huguenot stationer derives less from his role as publisher than from his activities as bookseller and importer. Like several of his colleagues, Cailloué selected his London premises in the Strand, and according to an advertisement in the *London Gazette* of 20–24 July 1693, he refers to himself as "John Cailloué French Bookseller at the corner House of Pemberton Buildings in the Strand." There he welcomed such prominent book collectors as the great scientist and bibliophile Robert Hooke. Actually, the career of "John Cailloué" is reanimated from several entries in Hooke's diary more than from the few books that bear Cailloué's imprint. Hooke's diary indicates that, of all the Huguenot book dealers in London, Cailloué was a man of some substance. As an importer Cailloué acquired a stock sufficiently large to enable him to issue a French catalogue, a copy of which he gave to his good customer Dr. Hooke.

Hooke's earliest reference to Cailloué is dated 4 December 1688, when Hooke notes merely "Caillou." It is, of course, possible that Hooke had visited the Corner House of the Pemberton Buildings before, since earlier portions of the diary are missing. An entry of 26 April 1689 reads, "To Caillous. Saw strang Marbled paper: I know how to make it." Apparently, Cailloué prepared his own or imported from a Parisian or Dutch paper house fine quality French marbled paper for endpapers.

Despite frequent visits to Cailloué's shop, Hooke purchased relatively little, an unsuccessful browse indicated in the diary by "O." Nonetheless, he apparently enjoyed the Frenchman's company, remaining at the shop to drink "Cocoa" with him. Upon other occasions Hooke found at Cailloué's shop books of great interest that the proprietor had imported from Paris. On 12 August 1689 Hooke spent some time at Cailloué's shop, ultimately indulging in his old habit of borrowing books. Cailloué lent him a copy of Nicolas Gervaise, *Description historique du royaume de Macacar*, which had been published in Paris in 1688 by Hilaire Foucault and imported by Cailloué. On 21 December 1689 Hooke writes,

"Calld at Cailloue O. Saw Pelitier *french Dictionary* 3 vol. fol. at 3½ /<sup>11</sup>/<sub>11</sub> price: I believe tis very good." Hooke waxes most enthusiastic about a book he examined during a visit on 23 January 1690. He names the title, printer, and the latter's exalted position but fails to cite the author, El Cagary: "*De la Manoeuvre des Vaisseaux*. 8°. A Paris chez Estienne Michallet premier imprimeur du roy. rue S Jaques a l'Image S. Paul. 1689. de l'expres commandem[en]t de Sa Majes[te]. in 8 sheets and 25 Copper plates. Price in quires 6 shillings." (On the same day Hooke "Bespake a book of *Becker*." Obviously John Cailloue carried some German alchemical treatises, since Becker ranks among the group of pseudoscientists.) It was not until the following February that Hooke actually acquired the Michallet publication, and then not for himself but for his friend Pitfeild.

There are lacunae in Hooke's diary from 10 March 1690 to 5 December 1692; hence possible allusions to the activity of Cailloue and his French associates during that period are unavailable. Reference to Cailloue resumes on 24 December 1692, when the scientist apparently purchased nothing, but on 16 May 1693 he acquired from the tenant of the Corner House of Pemberton Buildings a set of Adrien Baillet's *Ouvrages des Scavans* for 6 pence. Hooke's last recorded visit to Cailloue, on 23 May 1693, was fruitless.<sup>16</sup>

Following a visit to Cailloue on 9 March 1692/93 Hooke states that he had also browsed at the premises of one Behagen. Variouslly referred to by the diarist as Biagen, Behagell, or Behagen, this gentleman was in all likelihood a Huguenot exile whose precise origins remain unknown. No imprint is attributed to him, and he emerges as a London bookseller importing scientific texts from abroad. According to Hooke, Monsieur Biagen was located not in the Strand but in St. Paul's Churchyard, London's Booksellers' Row. Usually a visit to Cailloue's Corner House, Pemberton Buildings, was followed by a stop at Biagen's quarters. Hooke's earliest visit to Biagen appears to have been in late January 1692/93, when he ordered an eight-volume set of *La Croix*, as well as a set of *Oeuvres Mathematiques* by Prestet to be delivered by Biagen to Hooke's lodgings. In May he visited Biagen, paid for the

A N  
E D I C T  
O F T H E  
French King,

Prohibiting all Publick Exercise of  
the *Pretended Reformed Religion* in his Kingdom.

Wherein he Recalls, and totally An-  
nuls the perpetual and irrevocable Edict of King  
*Henry* the IV: his Grandfather, given at *Nantes* ;  
full of most gracious Concessions to *Protestants*.

To which is added,

The *French King's* Letter to the Elector of *Branden-  
burg*, containing several Passages relating to the foregoing Edict.

As also, A Brief and True Account of the Persecution  
carried on against those of the foresaid Religion, for to make them  
Abjure and Apostatize.

Together, With the Form of Abjuration the Revolting Prote-  
stants are to Subscribe and Swear to.

And a Declaration of his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg*,  
in Favour of those of the *Reformed Religion*, who shall think fit to  
settle themselves in any of his Dominions.

---

Translated out of French.

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*The Second Edition Corrected, with Additions.*

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Printed by G. M. Anno Dom. 1686.

*Ouvrages des Scavans*, and, on behalf of his friend Mr. Pitfeild, purchased at 4 shillings the *Traite des moyens de rendre les Rivières navigables*. In late May 1693 Hooke writes, "Paid at Behagell 3s. for *Voyage en divers estats de l'Europe et D'asie*." The scientist had acquired Davity's notable treatise on voyages around the world. Seven weeks later, on 15 July 1693, Hooke notes, "Bihagells goods gon."<sup>17</sup>

At approximately the same time that Hooke had become acquainted with Cailloue, he enjoyed brief business transactions with Antoine Boudet. Boudet may have migrated from Lyons, where he was an active publisher. In London, with limited means, he was essentially an importer, publishing only a single title: William Darrell, *A vindication of St. Ignatius* ("For Anthony Boudet 1688"). Indeed, Boudet's London activity, according to Hooke's diary, lasted only a short time. On 26 December 1688 Hooke writes, "Paid Boudet 22½ sh for 9 Vol. of the *Jugemens*." Boudet had apparently imported the complete set of Baillet's *Jugemens des Scavans*. Two days later Hooke gave Boudet "2½ for *Siam Voyage*" to augment his holdings of voyages and travels. With his future biographer Edmund Waller, he visited Boudet on 3 January of the new year. Three weeks later a laconic entry by Hooke reads, "Boudet packing." Anthony Boudet departed London to resume his life as Antoine Boudet.<sup>18</sup>

The omniscient Dr. Hooke was not all-wise in his knowledge of the Huguenot booksellers resident in London. His contacts with Cailloue, Biagen, and Boudet were based upon his specific bookish needs—mostly scientific texts—which these French gentlemen imported. Having caught such a large fish in their net, they made every effort to supply his desiderata.

Other Huguenot booksellers supplied the wants of collectors far less interested in the scientific innovations of the day. Paul Vaillant, member of a bookselling and publishing family that spanned the eighteenth century and even part of the nineteenth, came from a Huguenot family of Saumur. By 1686 he was in London, where he set up as publisher and bookseller at Bedford House in the Strand. The Vaillant firm was a family business conducted after Paul's death by sons Paul and Isaac and eventually by grandson Paul III, who was succeeded by Peter Elmsley.



The early eighteenth-century bookplate of the brothers Vaillant reveals a ship with sails full-blown bearing the caption, "This book is to be had at Paul & Isaac Vaillant's at the shop in the Strand London." The presence of that bookplate in Brigham Young University's copy of Guy Joly's *Memoires* (Amsterdam: Bernard, 1718) proves the firm also imported books. Working with the elder Vaillant was one François Vaillant, either a brother or son. From 1686 to 1700 the Vaillants published only four titles, including the French translation of William Petty, *Political Arithmetick*, printed as customary by Bernard Griffin and "se vendent par Francois Vaillant." Of great interest are two seismological treatises issued with a member of the Vaillant family by Thomas Cockerill of the Three Legs in the Poultry: J. D. R., *Observations upon Three Earthquakes* (1694) and *The earth twice shaken wonderfully* (1693/94). In 1700 François Vaillant published at London a French version of the New Testament. As the new century progressed, the Vaillant family continued the work begun by its forefathers, and the off-spring of Huguenots became a part of English life.<sup>19</sup>

There is every reason to believe that the Vaillants were acquainted with the Duchemins. Daniel Duchemin, a staunch Huguenot, was eager to circulate the Holy Writ and doctrine of the minority faith. He had apparently brought some capital with him to London, and from 1693 to 1698 published six books, beginning with *La Sainte Bible . . . Le tout reveu . . . par les pasteurs . . . de l'église de Geneve* (Londres: Duchemin, 1693). The same year he published *Le Nouveau Testament François* and *Les Pseaumes de David*. Four years later, in collaboration with Bernard Griffin, loyal supporter of the Huguenot press, he issued a French translation of William Sherlock's *Reflexions sur la Mort*. In 1698 Duchemin published two controversial texts of the divine Jean Baptiste Renoult. After Duchemin's death, ca. 1698, his widow was established "at the Sacrifice of Abraham over against Somerset House." Later, moving to Bedford House in the Strand, she carried on the firm until 1705.<sup>20</sup>

On the fringe of the Huguenot booktrade were a few other importers whose occasional imprints suggest brief associations with the French stationers of London. In 1687 one Bureau, who





PASTE-DOWN (BOOKPLATE) IN BYU'S COPY  
OF GUY JOLY'S *MEMOIRS*

# MEMOIRES

DE

MR. JOLI,

CONSEILLER

AU

PARLEMENT:

*Contenant l'Histoire de la Regence d'ANNE  
d'AUTRICHE, & des premieres années  
de la Majorité de Louis XIV.  
jusqu'en 1665. avec les intrigues du  
Cardinal de RETZ à la Cour.*

TOME PREMIER.



A AMSTERDAM,  
Chez JEAN FREDERIC BERNARD.

M. DCC XVIII.

originally hailed from La Niort, was involved in the importation of the important catalogue of A. Massauve's collection. Copies of the catalogue were to be distributed by "Mr. Burreau French Bookseller of the Strand." There is little reference to the role of Bureau as a bookseller, but it is known that at his premises in the Strand in 1683 a lottery of wine was drawn.

Jean de Beaulieu, origin unknown, published two works in London: *Traité de la vérité de la religion chretienne* by the Huguenot divine Jacques Abbadie (A Rotterdam, chez Reinier Leers, 1684. Et a Londres, chez Jean Beaulieu) and an *Epitaph de Charles Second* by "D. Br" (A Londres, chez I. de Beaulieu, 1685). A work of glowing patriotism, *Cantique de Triomphe sur la victoire navale des Anglois et Hollandois remporte sur les français le 29 May 1692* was issued in 1692 by one J. Delage, origin unknown ("Se vendent par J. Delage"). Obviously, Monsieur Delage rejoiced in publicizing the defeat of the Sun King, his former monarch, who had provoked his departure from France.<sup>21</sup>

Exiled Huguenot booksellers in London and that portion of the English booktrade that sponsored anti-French publications and catered to the refugee group reflect an interesting but little-known aspect of publishing and bookselling history. Highly specialized in imprints and readership, the two groups worked together from time to time to circulate shared sentiments. French exiles, harried from France, brought little capital with them to London; hence, for the most part, they relied on the importation of books from France and Holland to augment their stock. Once in London they banded together, primarily in the Strand, where, for a short period toward the end of the seventeenth century they enjoyed the patronage of such distinguished customers as Dr. Robert Hooke and at the same time established business relations with their English colleagues. The presence at Brigham Young University of a considerable corpus of early French Huguenot ephemeral pamphlets helps illuminate the background of this seminal group of booksellers in exile. The London publications whose imprints bear their names round out the picture of the refugees who carried their faith to a Protestant country and add another dimension to the architectonics of the seventeenth-century booktrade.

## NOTES

1. Louis XIV (king of France), *An Edict of the French King, Prohibiting all Publick Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion in his Kingdom* ([London,] 1686), Wing L 3119–3120. Brigham Young University owns Wing L 3120.
2. Lindsay and Neu 286; STC 18149, 11289, 11374.
3. Wing R 814.
4. For a study of Baldwin, see Leona Rostenberg, *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing & Bookselling in England, 1551–1700: Twelve Studies* (New York: Franklin, 1965), 2:369–415.
5. Wing F 2185, D 1212, A 2949, I 279, P 2770, S 4991, B 2089, G 1663, F 734, P 3246, K 461, P 3238.
6. *Term Catalogue* II, 250, 259, 321, 380; Wing P 3276, F 263.
7. Goldsmith B 818, B 906, L 1725; *Term Catalogue* II, 450; Wing J 1207, J 1199, J 1210, J 1204, J 1209, C 4589.
8. Wing M 1342, 1345, 1346, 2026, 2027, 2023, 2012, 2013, 2010; *Term Catalogue* II, 232; Wing F 825.
9. For Bentley, see Henry Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England . . . from 1668 to 1725* (London, 1922), 31f, and John Lawler, *Book Auctions in England* (London, 1898), 99.
10. Goldsmith B 1739, L 435; *Term Catalogue* II, 113, 156; Wing A 3028, H 2092.
11. Wing P 3630A. The imprint reads, “A Londres, se vendent chez Jean Cailloue, Pierre de Varenne la Veuve Pean & la Veuve Maret. 1696.”
12. Goldsmith E 138, A 40, A 41; Wing A 50, A 54. See also Goldsmith C 280.
13. Goldsmith D 894.
14. Goldsmith F 15, T 603, S 932, L 1394, M 1117, M 1523.
15. Wing J 746, A 1228; Goldsmith L 2006; Wing S 2975.
16. *The Diary of Robert Hooke November 1688 to March 1690* and *The Diary [of Robert Hooke]*, Dec. 1692 to 8 Aug. 1693, in R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, 15 vols. (Oxford: The Author, 1930), 79, 116, 141, 173, 182, 185, 200, 240, 242. For Cailloue’s French Catalogue, see 151. See also Leona Rostenberg, *The Library of Robert Hooke: The Scientific Book Trade of Restoration England* (Santa Monica: Modoc Press, 1989), 90–91.
17. *Hooke Diary*, 220, 207–8, 241–43, 259.
18. Wing D 270; *Hooke Diary*, 86, 88, 91.
19. Wing P 1918, R 37, R 38; Goldsmith B 992.
20. Goldsmith B 821, B 990, B 908; Wing S 3335, R 1038, R 1039.
21. For Bureau, see *London Gazette*, 2–5 Jan. 1683, 4 Feb. 1684, 9–12 Jan. 1687; Wing M 1029; Plomer, *Dictionary 1668 to 1725*, 58. For Beaulieu, see Wing A 57, B 4085A. For Delage, see Goldsmith E 141.



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## *El Título de Totonicapán*

MARK L. GROVER

The lives of Indians in the small quiet villages of tropical Guatemala are guided by a combination of elements of the modern world and the continuation of ancient and traditional pre-Columbian Mayan beliefs and activities. Guatemalan Indians use modern inventions such as the radio and the truck, they speak Spanish, and they send their children to Guatemalan schools. However, many activities, such as the planting of crops, religious ceremonies, and the daily rituals in which they participate are similar to those that filled their ancestors' lives for hundreds of years.

Nevertheless, by observing only the remnants of the past in modern Guatemala, our knowledge of the ancient Indian civilizations of Mesoamerica is limited. Archaeological remains, though providing some evidence of how the people lived, afford but shadowy glimpses into a people's beliefs, rituals, history, and social structures; most often this type of information is best obtained from books and manuscripts. Unfortunately, only four books (codices) of the Mayan Indians have survived of the hundreds that were known to have existed at the time of the political conquest of Nueva España (Mexico and Central America). Consequently, much of what is known about the history of the pre-Columbian Indians of Guatemala comes from documents written by both Indians and Europeans after the Spanish had established political and religious control over Mesoamerica.

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After the military conquest, some Catholic priests and Spanish officials became concerned about the preservation of the history and culture of the Indians of Mesoamerica. As a result, several documents that included descriptions of the history, culture, philosophy, and religious beliefs of the Indians were prepared in the middle of the sixteenth century, written both in Spanish and in romanized Indian languages. Some histories were written by priests who had collected information from the Indians. Other documents, prepared by Indians with the help of Catholic priests, were used in Spanish courts to provide legal evidence of the Indians' rights to traditional lands. Of these latter documents, probably the most well known is the *Popol Vuh*, written by Indians in order to preserve information found in what was known as the "sacred book of the Quiché Indians."<sup>1</sup>

One such document is the subject of two recent acquisitions by the Harold B. Lee Library. In the city of San Miguel Totonicapán in eastern Guatemala is located a clan of Quiché Indians called the Yax. The Quiché descended from the ancient Mayans, the inhabitants of Central America, who spoke a language distinct from other Mesoamerican Indian languages and maintained unique traditions. At the time of the Spanish conquest, the Quiché were the most powerful and cultured of the Mayan factions in Guatemala. In 1554, due most likely to the influence of Catholic priests, a 62-page (31 folios) manuscript was prepared that included a history of the Yax and Quiché as well as a description of some Mayan traditions. The document, which also described the boundaries of the Yax Indian clan, was used as evidence in court to support Indian claims to traditional lands. The original document was lost; however, sometime in the seventeenth century a copy was made that today, along with other important papers, is in the possession of the Yax clan leader.<sup>2</sup>

In 1838 the document was presented in a Guatemalan court of law as evidence in a land dispute case with other Indian groups. At that time, the judge asked a Catholic priest, Father Dionisio José Chonay, to make a Spanish translation of the Quiché to be entered into the records of the trial. In 1860 this translation was discovered by the French historian and linguist Brasseur de Bourbourg, who

# TITULO DE LOS SEÑORES DE TOTONICAPAN

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## TITRE GÉNÉALOGIQUE

DES

## SEIGNEURS DE TOTONICAPAN

Traduit de l'Espagnol par M. de CHARENCEY.



ALENÇON

E. RENAUT-DE BROISE, Imprimeur,

PLACE D'ARMES, 5

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1885.



made a copy and took it back to Europe, along with several other copies of old manuscripts, to aid in his research of the history and languages of Central America. After his death, the copy of the document became the property of the Condé de Charencey, who in 1885 published a limited pamphlet edition of the Spanish along with a French translation entitled *Título de Los Señores de Totonicapán/Titre Généalogique des Seigneurs de Totonicapán*. Copies of this very rare publication are found in few libraries.

The original Brasseur document was eventually deposited in the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, where, in 1950, it was examined and copied by the Latin American scholar Adirián Recinos. He then published a Spanish translation in Mexico, including informative notes and a comparison with the more famous *Popol Vuh*.<sup>3</sup>

In 1973, Robert Carmack, anthropologist at the State University of New York at Albany, on a visit to the village of Totonicapán was able to gain the confidence of the leader of the Yax, Ambrosio Yax Chaclán, who kept the *Título*, as well as other valuable documents. Ambrosio was concerned that village children were losing Quiché cultural and linguistic traditions. Due to the influence of Guatemalan schools Indian children were required to attend, most of the younger Indians, who read only Spanish, were unable to understand the Quiché found in these documents. Believing it important that Yax children know the information contained in the documents, Ambrosio gave Carmack permission to make a photocopy of the 62-page document, translate it into Spanish, and publish the *Título* in Mexico. After several visits to Guatemala and Mexico between 1973 and 1983 and with assistance of the linguist James L. Mondloch, the volume was published in 1983 by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México in Mexico City. Included in the publication were photographs of the original document, a transcription of the original Quiché, a new Spanish translation, and ethnographic and linguistic notes.<sup>4</sup>

The content of the document adds insight to our understanding of the Indians of Guatemala. It is divided into two different and unique parts. The first sixteen pages (eight folios) is a historical summary of events and people found in the Old Testament. The borrowing from Christian history and tradition, a common element

# EL TÍTULO DE TOTONICAPÁN

Texto, traducción y comentario

Edición facsimilar, transcripción y traducción

por

Robert M. Carmack y James L. Mondloch



UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MÉXICO  
México 1983

in many Indian accounts written during this period, was an attempt to link Christian tradition to the Indians in order to increase, in part, the legitimacy of land claims. The Mexican scholar René Acuña has determined that this part appears to have been copied almost word-for-word from another document written in 1553 by a Dominican priest, Domingo de Vico. The second part, beginning on page 17 (folio 9), contains a description of Mayan Indian myths of creation, political and social histories, and the delineation of land boundaries. This section is different from the first not only in content but also in writing style, indicating a different author from the one who wrote the first eight folios.<sup>5</sup>

Much of the information in the second part resembles other Quiché documents of the period, especially the much larger and more comprehensive *Popol Vuh*. The *Título* does include, however, added information such as a more complete genealogy of Quiché rulers, giving historians a more comprehensive chronological history. It includes additional descriptions of some important religious rituals such as those that occur at marriage and death, and further illumination is shed on the Quiché political-military structure and the importance of the calendar in guiding daily life.

The Harold B. Lee Library houses three editions of the *Título*. The latest version, translated by Robert Carmack and James Mondloch, is the recent edition published by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. This beautiful edition includes abundant commentary adumbrating the history of the document and providing insight into the Quiché Indians. Although the library does not own the Spanish version by Adrián Recinos published in 1950, an English edition translated by Delia Goetz and published by the University of Oklahoma in 1953 is part of the collection.

The 1885 publication of the *Título* as a pamphlet is also a recent addition to the Harold B. Lee Library. This pamphlet, first published in a limited edition, is available in some European libraries and only a few larger libraries in the United States. There are so few extant copies that not even the national libraries of Mexico and Guatemala have acquired them. Three major book dealers of Latin American materials recently indicated they had never seen a copy.

Elder Ted E. Brewerton, a member of the First Quorum of Seventy of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, has through a long interest in the Indians of Guatemala known of this publication for many years. In the mid-1960s, while serving as president of the Costa Rican Mission, he found and purchased a copy of the 1885 publication in the Tramcombs Bookstore in the Virgin Islands. In 1984, realizing its value to researchers, he made photocopies, had each page notarized, and bound the pages in a cover similar to the original. He then presented photocopies to the national libraries of Mexico and Guatemala. Elder Brewerton also traveled to the city of Totonicapán and gave a copy to the mayor. When the head of the Guatemalan “Casa de Cultura” realized what Elder Brewerton had, he insisted that the presentation be made at the national theater, live on the local radio station. After these presentations, the original was given to the Harold B. Lee Library, where it is presently housed in Special Collections.<sup>6</sup>

These important publications add to the Lee Library’s growing collection of Mesoamerican Indian items. The foundation of the collection is a group of historical manuscripts and early imprints gathered by William E. Gates. Gates was born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1863 and was a professor in the School of Antiquity of the Theosophical Society. After receiving a sizable inheritance he set out to collect every available printed item on Mexican and Central American Indians either by purchase, transcription, or photo reproduction. He also attempted to locate lost or unknown documents held by locals in the Mayan region by hiring others and going himself to search for manuscripts in rural Mexico and Guatemala. By 1920 he claimed to have in his possession either the original or a copy of 95 percent of all available materials relevant to the study of the Indians of Mexico and Central America.

Gates sold small parts of the collection prior to his death in 1940. After his death, the rest became the property of his sister, Mrs. Edith McComas, who wanted the collection to stay together in its entirety at some institution where it could be used by researchers. Due to the efforts of M. Wells Jakeman, chair of the Archaeology Department at Brigham Young, the collection was purchased and placed in the Harold B. Lee Library.<sup>7</sup>



The Gates Collection of approximately 1,000 items includes photo reproductions, original manuscripts, typescripts of manuscripts, a photograph collection, a Mayan type font, and the personal correspondence of William E. Gates. The value of this collection is unquestionable. Gates, because of an unsatiable drive, gathered in one collection almost the entire body of knowledge available at his time. In so doing he saved many items from possible loss or destruction and made these manuscripts available for continued scholarly research.

The Gates collection at BYU has been supplemented by other books and serials. The most significant publications about the Mayan region of Mexico and Central America are being acquired by the library. For example, of a total of 321 known American Indian pictorial manuscripts (codices) the library owns a reproduction of 232 or 75 percent.<sup>8</sup> The library also owns over 130 written accounts by postconquest chroniclers and historians who wrote about the Mesoamerican Indians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> These two groups of documents combined with the Gates Collection offer researchers an unusually rich group of primary documents from which to study the world of the Indians of Mexico and Central America.

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